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Industrial Transformation, Population Movement and German Nationalism in Bohemia

The German-nationalist labor movement in the Habsburg Empire was inextricably bound up with the Czech-German conflict. The "Deutsche Arbeiterpartei", founded at Trautenau in 1904, counted most of its adherents in Bohemia. The German and Czech Social Democrats in Bohemia were divided into internationalist and nationalist-oriented wings that opposed each other with increasing bitterness in the decade before 1914. If the German-Austrian Social Democrats were the first political leaders in Europe to attempt a theoretical solution to the problem of national and social liberty, they were also the target of bitter criticism as "Germanizers" from their Czech comrades. The Czech Socialist leaders on their part often appeared to have adopted the national program and ideology of the radical bourgeois Czech parties. During the last decade of the monarchy many workers in Bohemia, both German and Czech, who remained formally loyal to the ideal of international proletarian solidarity, were in fact nationalistic to a degree or were inclined to adopt an opportunistic attitude toward nationalism. By 1918 perhaps the majority of all German and Czech workers in Alt-Oesterreich had come to the conclusion that their pressing social and economic problems could be solved only in the framework of a national state and not in a federated empire of many nationalities with different economic and cultural levels.

A militant minority since the mid-nineties on each side had proclaimed that the interests of the nation came before those of the individual or any special class. They declared that their aim was to improve the condition of their respective nations by radical social and economic reforms, but they took an ambiguous line on the necessity of maintaining or overthrowing the central economic and political institutions of modern European civilization. By 1918 these self-styled National Socialists had abandoned much of the humanitarian ideals of liberal democracy and Marxism. Their position cannot be easily fitted into the convenient nineteenth-century classifications of Right or Left.¹

1) The term "National Socialism" in the context of this article refers to the program and outlook of the adherents of the DAP/DNSAP. The contention of some writers, and of the later Hitler-movement, to preempt the term for the Nazis cannot, in the author's opinion, be admitted, especially retroactively to the period before 1918. There is no satisfactory substitute for the term "National Socialist" when referring to the "Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei" and its adherents. No causal influence or particular connection between Austrian National Socialism before 1918 and the later Hitler-movement is intended.

The ultimate sources of course of Austrian National Socialism before 1918 must be looked for in changes in the thought and behaviour of the peoples of Western Europe that had been going on for some one hundred and fifty years. Great material and intellectual changes, most of which are thought of as representing progress and their effects considered praiseworthy, combined to create the psychological climate in which radical parties could germinate. Austrian political parties after 1870, like parties in other countries, were laying increasing emphasis on immediate material goals and were less concerned with the good of humanity than with the welfare of particular economic, social or geographical groups. In Bohemia the struggle for liberty and equality became also, unfortunately, a struggle for national domination. It is not surprising that National Socialism, which combined the two goals, found its inspiration and chief strength in that historically border province.

The mere presence of two linguistically and historically different peoples in one political unit, in the general conditions prevailing after 1870, does not however explain why extremist nationalism developed in Bohemia among a considerable, if minority, element of German labor after about 1895 and produced a National Socialist Party.

A glance at a list of German "national-socialist" trade unions of 1909² shows that the movement was well established in the following trades: bakers, leatherworkers, tavern employees, store clerks, building trades, ceramic, textile, silk, glass, metal, wood, chemical, paper, rubber, tobacco, and transport workers, railwaymen, coal miners, postal employees, wigmakers and barbers. These unions were established chiefly in the Northwest Bohemian coal district (Brüx, Dux, Teplitz, etc.) and in the textile and glass producing area of Northeastern Bohemia (Reichenberg, Gablonz, etc.). Other centers were Iglau, Mährisch-Trübau, Aussig and Krumau, and outside of Bohemia-Moravia at Vienna and Graz.

This list shows that the places where national antagonism led to organized anti-Czech labor organizations were not, as might have been supposed, along the "linguistic frontier" between the two peoples within Bohemia, which Heinrich Rauchberg found was surprisingly clear-cut and stable in 1900.³ Articulate national hostility among the Germans was strongest in the interior of the German-speaking area.

The German-nationalist labor movement and the self-styled National Socialist Party that grew out of it will be illuminated by an analysis of Czech immigration into the interior of "German Bohemia" in the period from 1880

2) Cf. *Der Bergmann* (Karbitz), Dec. 14, 1911, p. 4; *Deutsche Arbeiterstimme* (Gablonz), Aug. 3, 1907, p. 5; *Deutsche Gewerkschaft* (Wien), Jan. 1, 1913, p. 4; *Protokoll des ersten Kongresses der deutschen Gewerkschaften Österreichs* (Wien, 1909), p. 72; Alois Ciller, *Die Vorläufer des Nationalsozialismus* (Wien, 1932), pp. 46, 64, 96; *Statistisches Handbuch des Königreiches Böhmen* (Prag, 1913), p. 282.

3) H. Rauchberg, *Der Nationale Besitzstand in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 51—58, 87—94.

to 1900 when the nationalist labor movement was in genesis. Such an analysis will help to clarify why the Czech immigration created the basis of a German nationalist labor movement in some localities while in others it did not, and why the size of the Czech immigration was decisive in some industries while in others the condition of the individual industry was the dominant factor.

One of the best sources of information about the internal migrations in Bohemia is Rauchberg's study of the Czech and German "Besitzstand" in Bohemia, the term for the absolute and relative numbers of the two nationalities, their geographical distribution, and their economic and social condition. Using the Austrian census as his chief source, with corroborative material drawn from statistics on school attendance, land ownership, wages, and occupational groups, Rauchberg compiled exact information on the movement of population within Bohemia between 1880 and 1900.⁴ The Austrian census had made the "Umgangssprache", or language of daily use, the test of nationality since 1880, when ethnological and cultural criteria were abandoned as unworkable, and its reliability is convincingly defended by Rauchberg.⁵ On the basis of the "Umgangssprache" as indicated by census statistics he divided the 96 prefectures (Bezirke) of Bohemia into four lingual categories: German — over 80% German-speaking; German-mixed — 50% to 80% German-speaking; Czech-mixed — 50% to 80% Czech-speaking; and Czech — over 80% Czech-speaking. By correlating records of where the residents of a prefecture had been born with the lingual category of the prefecture of birth he determined both the total number of immigrants and the number of each nationality. In some areas he applied this procedure to units as small as townships or even villages, though the smaller the unit the greater the proportion of possible errors. He concluded that the majority of both nationalities still resided in 1900, as they had since the beginning of reliable population statistics in the late eighteenth century, in two virtually homogeneous parts of Bohemia — that is, in areas in which 90% of the inhabitants spoke the same language. The minority that lived in mixed prefectures, however, had greatly increased. Many "German" prefectures had become "German-mixed".⁶

In 1900, according to Rauchberg's figures, 1,519,667 native Bohemians were living in prefectures other than those in which they were born. Of these 327,267 had been born in prefectures at least 80% German — it must be assumed then that at least 80% would be German-speaking. More than one million (1,007,384) had been born in Czech prefectures. In other words, 22% of the Bohemians living in a prefecture to which they had migrated came from German districts, 67% from Czech districts. While these figures refer to

4) One of his chief sources was the *Österreichische Statistik* published yearly by the K. K. *Statistische Zentralkommission*, Wien. The head of this bureau in 1909 was a respected scholar, Dr. Karl Theodor von Inama-Sternegg.

5) Cf. Thomas v. Inama-Sternegg on the question of the fairness and accuracy of the Umgangssprache as a criterion of nationality, "Die nächste Volkszählung", *Statistische Monatsschrift*, XXVI, 5. Jahrg., (Wien, 1900), pp. 455—493, and H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 12—19.

6) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 87—94.

all Bohemia, and many Czech migrants went to the industrial district of Prague, they show that Czechs were three times as mobile as Germans. It was the Czechs far more than the Germans who appeared in a community as strangers, seeking work at any price. Rauchberg shows further that a third of the immigrants into German prefectures came from Czech prefectures and that more than three-fifths of those who went to German-mixed prefectures came from Czech prefectures.⁷

Of the twenty-one prefectures with the greatest amount of immigration twelve were in German Bohemia. These contained the coalfields of north-western Bohemia and the principal industrial cities — Reichenberg, Gablonz, Karlsbad, Aussig, and Leitmeritz among others. Five of the twenty-one composed Prague and its environs.⁸

Rauchberg estimated that between 1880 and 1900 some 500,000 Czechs migrated to communities that before 1880 had been at least 80% German. Of these about half remained in Bohemia; the others went to Moravia, Silesia, or Lower Austria where many settled in Wiener-Neustadt and even more in Wien. In the monarchy as a whole the numerical relationship of the two peoples remained the same.⁹

The movement within Bohemia was chiefly into two regions — the lignite fields and the industrial districts of northern Bohemia — in both of which the population, with the exception of a few isolated townships, was traditionally over 90% German. Many Czechs, however, went to Prague and to Pilsen and Budweis. By 1900 Budweis had changed from a half-German city to one where German was spoken by merely 20% of the people.

Evidence as to the extent of the migrations between 1900 and 1914 is contradictory.¹⁰ It is clear, however, that the turmoil attendant on this "Völkerwanderung" continued and was aggravated by the cyclic economic distress in the fifteen years before the outbreak of war. Strangely enough, the danger of far-reaching political repercussions from the antagonism between the Czech immigrants and the indigenous Germans was noted by only a few contemporary writers.¹¹

7) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 234—235.

8) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 233—235.

9) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 22, 26 f., 56, 181 f., 283, 650, 656. Cf. Vincenz Goehlert, "Die Bevölkerung Böhmens in ihrer Entwicklung seit hundert Jahren", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, XVII, p. 353 f.

10) Cf. F. Probst, "Die überseeische österreichische Auswanderung", *Statistische Monatsschrift* (Wien), XVIII, (1892), pp. 1—25. Thomas Capek, "Sociological Factors in Czech Immigration", *Slavonic Review*, XXII, No. 4, (1944), pp. 93—98.

11) Otto Bauer and Josef Seliger were among the few who did. Cf. Otto Bauer, *Die Nationalitätenfrage und die Sozialdemokratie*, 2nd ed., (Wien, 1924), p. 252, and Seliger's speech in the Reichsrat, July 9, 1909, in *Stenographische Protokolle des Abgeordnetenhauses des Österreichischen Reichsrates*. Josef Hofbauer and Emil Strauss, *Josef Seliger. Ein Lebensbild* (Prag, 1932), p. 93 f.

All this movement was of course part of a European phenomenon in which tens of millions of people left their homes between 1830 and 1930, many for other continents. Much has been written about these migrations and their causes. In the area we are discussing, as has been stated, the mechanization of agriculture threw many farm hands out of work and made small peasant holdings submarginal, machine industry encroached on the peasant handicrafts which often saved rural families from starvation, and industry had the irresistible attraction of being able to pay higher wages than agriculture. Moreover, in the nineteenth century wages for all kinds of work were usually higher in the German-speaking part of Bohemia than in the Czech part, so that the German part exercised a continuous pull.¹² The difference in wages, however, regulated the direction of the movement rather than operated as its basic cause. When German-speaking peasants changed to industrial work they almost always remained in the German area, often in their own prefecture. Their places on the land were likely to be filled by Czechs, though the majority of Czech migrants became miners or factory workers.

The immediate cause of the large-scale migration to the lignite fields of northwestern Bohemia was the increased demand for coal created by industrialization. After the change-over from wood to coal in factories and the lowering of Austrian customs barriers (1850) the mines were greatly expanded. Production was further stimulated by the extension of railway lines and improved transportation facilities on the Elbe. By 1870 the mine owners were unable to fill their labor needs from the local population, and workers were imported wholesale. The increase in the number of miners was accompanied, Rauchberg's statistics show, by an increase in the size of the Czech minorities. In 1880 the population of Brůx consisted of 30,735 Germans and 3,166 Czechs; in 1890 of 38,335 Germans and 9,520 Czechs, in 1900 of 53,787 Germans and 19,218 Czechs. In Dux, in 1880, the Germans numbered 21,202, the Czechs 3,582; in 1890 the Germans numbered 29,645, the Czechs 5,697; in 1900 the Germans numbered 38,530, the Czechs 13,661. In Teplitz in 1880 there were 45,051 Germans and 2,476 Czechs; in 1890, 57,319 Germans and 3,688 Czechs; in 1900 78,136 Germans and 9,018 Czechs. In Bilin in 1880 there were 21,091 Germans and 1,543 Czechs; in 1890, 22,651 Germans and 2,077 Czechs; in 1900, 27,637 Germans and 3,474 Czechs. Between 1880 and 1900, in the coal region as a whole the German population increased about 60%, the Czech over 300%.¹³

In 1900, when the development of the Bohemian coalfields reached its height, nearly 90% of the miners came from outside the prefectures in which

12) Karl Kautsky, long afterward, showed that inequalities in the standard of living of Slav and German workers existed. "Löhne und Gehälter", *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik* (Wien, 1925), p. 105 f. Cf. H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 645—658. Bauer, *Nationalitätenfrage*, p. 252 f.

13) Cf. H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 67, 463, 490. Cf. Franz Sigl, *Die Soziale Struktur des Sudetendeutschums* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 73. Emil Strauss, *Die Entstehung der Tschechoslowakischen Republik* (Prag, 1934), p. 38.

they were living and working.¹⁴ Their places of origin are shown on the rolls of the "Central-Bruderlade" of northwestern Bohemia. Of 23,310 active members in 1897, 22,791 had been born in Bohemia. In Brüx 6,197 came from chiefly German prefectures, 10,672 from chiefly Czech prefectures; in Teplitz 3,042 from chiefly German, 1,717 from chiefly Czech; in Komotau 771 from chiefly German, 392 from chiefly Czech.¹⁵ About half of the Czech-speaking population of Brüx belonged to the "Bruderlade".¹⁶

Immigration into the manufacturing centers of northern Bohemia was less extensive and less rapid than that into the coalfields but was large in some places. In 1900 the political Bezirk of Reichenberg, with a population of 62,907, contained 45,327 immigrants, of whom 17,708 were Czechs. Gablonz, with 66,147 inhabitants, had 28,016 immigrants, of whom 15,016 were Czechs. Aussig, with 83,362 inhabitants, had 43,458 immigrants, of whom 15,094 were Czechs. Leitmeritz, with 48,239 inhabitants, had 28,580 immigrants, of whom 13,918 were Czechs. Other important cities containing a large number of Czech immigrants were Trautenau, with 11,301 (in the prefecture); Mies, with 9,090; Hohenelbe, with 5,696; Krumau, with 6,409.¹⁷

Statistics are complicated by the fact that a prefecture occasionally contained a few small communities, or Gemeinden, in which the national complexion of the prefecture was completely reversed. There were, for example, several Czech Gemeinden in German Reichenberg. Race relations depended to some extent on whether the Czech immigrants settled in a Czech or a German Gemeinde.

German workers in the handicraft industries as in the mines and factories felt the impact of Czech immigration. It has been said that the handicrafts in once German districts were largely taken over by Czechs because the working conditions were already so bad that German youths avoided them. Many Germans, nevertheless, remained in them, and their plight was made worse by

14) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 317—318.

15) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 313—316. This was an organization of mine workers for the collection, administration, and disbursement of sums to cover emergencies such as accidents, illness, death, and unemployment. They were not in any sense unions and made no wage or political demands. The idea went back centuries, a "Bruderlade" being mentioned in the Kuttenberg (Bohemia) mine ordinances of 1280; the modern form was established by the Austrian law of 1892 which defined its financial rights and obligations. Cf. *Soziale Verwaltung in Österreich* (Wien, 1900), I, Heft 1, pp. 66—94; *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, Hrsg. von J. Conrad, L. Elster, W. Lexis, Edg. Loening, 3rd ed. (Jena, 1909—1911), IV, article on mines and mining law, pp. 72—73. The Central Benevolent Fund for Northwest Bohemia or "Bruderlade" was formed in 1893 by the consolidation of fifteen smaller benevolent organizations. It had branches in nearly all the mines of northwestern Bohemia. Cf. *Protokolle über die Verhandlungen des Österreichischen Sozialdemokratischen Parteitages zu Wien 1894*, (Wien, 1894), pp. 131—144.

16) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 320—323.

17) H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 233, 236. *SHKB* (1913), pp. 16—23.

the influx of cheap Czech labor. Among the industries that were chiefly, or to a significant extent, carried on by handicraftsmen, the greatest with respect to production and labor force was textiles. Others were shoemaking, clothing manufacture, blacksmithing and forge work, porcelain, pottery, and glass.¹⁸ Of course during the late nineteenth century, especially after 1890, handicraft production tended to evolve into machine production and small factories into large ones. Some manufacturing concerns in the region between Tetschen, Aussig, and Leitmeritz on the west and Trautenau on the east — for example, Schicht and Liebig — became among the largest in Austria.

The number of Czech immigrants in the handicraft shops fluctuated with seasonal conditions. These men came individually in search of work or higher wages, not in a flood of imported labor like the miners. Some were unskilled farm hands, others skilled or semi-skilled craftsmen. Few wholly new communities were formed by them, for they were often taken into German communities. But in the crisis-ridden conditions of home industry the settlement of even isolated Czechs in a neighborhood caused alarm.

Under the pressure of competition from machine industry the master-craftsmen in weaving, woodworking, leatherwork, glass and porcelain making, and various other trades were obliged to cut costs and therefore to employ not only the cheaper Czechs but youthful apprentices in place of adult journeymen. In using more apprentices they were in effect resorting to child labor in order to stay in business. Between 1894 and 1906 the number of apprentices in a branch of production that as a whole was declining in size rose from 174,000 to some 300,000; the number of journeymen and masters fell sharply in the same period.¹⁹ The guilds guarded the master's status rigorously despite its increasing meaninglessness, and journeymen, barred from advancement, tended to continue with a master as so-called "Sitzgesellen", or permanent employees. The masters at the same time were losing their independence and becoming employees of factors. When the factor bought the raw material, supervised output to his specifications, often supplying the machinery, paid for the product by the piece and sold it, the master was virtually working for wages. He belonged to the proletariat.²⁰

In some fields handicraft production actually expanded with the growth of machine manufacture. Operations like painting and etching in glass-making, wood and bone carving, jewelry-making, the use of mother-of-pearl, and some processes in textile-making were handled more economically by small shops

18) About 11,165,000 persons were employed in Bohemian industry in 1900. *SHKB* (1913), pp. 15, 246. Cf. H. Rauchberg, *Besitzstand*, I, pp. 312—313.

19) *Verhandlungen des 7ten Gewerkschaftskongresses* (Wien, 1907), pp. 24—25. There were about 68,000 masters and about 760,000 total in handicraft industry in Austria in 1897. About 1,000,000 worked in factories. Cf. *Protokolle über die Verhandlungen des Parteitags der Österr. Sozialdemokratie 1897* (Wien, 1897), pp. 131 f.

20) Cf. Eugen Schwiedland, *Kleingewerbe und Hausindustrie in Österreich* (Wien, 1910), pp. 81—84. Ludwig Kleinwächter, *Die Holzweberei in Alt-Ehrenberg bei Rumburg in Böhmen* (Prag, 1891), pp. 184—185.

or individuals at home. But by 1900 even these special branches were dominated by factors, and the workmen were socially and economically indistinguishable from factory hands.²¹ Small shops often operated as adjuncts to a factory in the neighborhood, usually one that had seasonal rush periods and at those times liked to put out work. An occasional factory decentralized itself into a network of small shops with the owner becoming a factor and his former employees working in the shops as self-styled masters or journeymen. Conversely, a community of home workers might be centralized into a factory.²² Sometimes a whole farming region, particularly in the foothills of the Riesengebirge, where water power was available, became a collection of handicraft shops which were eventually taken over by a factor. The industrial city of Warnsdorf grew out of such a concentration of handicraft workers. A peculiarity of much Bohemian industry was its rural location.

Almost all the inhabitants of these factory villages, known in the region as Waldhufendörfer, were "Sitzgesellen". Earning a precarious living at their trade, they often owned or leased a small plot of ground outside the town, which they cultivated in their spare time. The miners of the northwestern coalfields also liked to have a garden. In some places they petitioned the companies for permission to lease the ruined land around abandoned pit heads. The glass workers in the Gablonz area and the Böhmerwald sometimes received part of their wages in the form of leases on strips of land around the factories.²³ Becoming strongly attached to their small plots, the native industrial workers of Bohemia developed a sense of "Bodenständigkeit" not often found among proletarians. Thus the fear of losing their jobs to cheap Czech labor was compounded by the fear of having to leave their bit of land. In consequence they were even more susceptible to nationalist agitation than the urban proletariat.

There were certain cost advantages in handicraft production for the manufacturer. The factor required less capital than the owner of a business and suffered less from recessions and seasonal declines. Small shops did not come under most of the social legislation passed after 1880. The masters could evade some taxes and the Gewerbekontrolle.²⁴ They could exploit their wives and

21) *Protokolle des Parteitages der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in Österreich, Linz, 1898* (Wien, 1898), pp. 131—134. E. Schwiedland, *Kleingewerbe*, pp. 21—54, 81—83.

22) This economic development seems to have been more common in Bohemia and the neighboring part of Saxony than elsewhere in Europe. Cf. E. Schwiedland, *Kleingewerbe*, pp. 111—114. L. Lehr, *Die Hausindustrie in der Stadt Leipzig und ihrer Umgebung* (Leipzig, 1891), p. 22. *POeSD* (1897), pp. 145—150. *PdSDOe* (1898), pp. 131—134.

23) Hans Krebs, "Der sudetendeutsche Arbeiter", *Sudetendeutsches Jahrbuch* (Eger, 1926), p. 205 f. Cf. Schwiedland, *Kleingewerbe*, pp. 20—21, E. G. Bürger, "Die Wandlungen des Waldhufendorfes", *Sudet. Jahrb.* (1929), pp. 168—180. F. Jesser, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Heimarbeit und Boden* (Prag, 1907), *passim*. Rudolf Haider, "Glasmacher und Holzhauer im Böhmerwalde", *Sudet. Jahrb.* (1926), p. 209.

24) *POeSD* (1897), pp. 149—150.

children as well as the "Gesellen" and apprentices. The masters therefore consistently opposed extending the scope of social legislation. The journeymen were torn between their need to have the state protect the masters against the factors and their desire to have it compel the masters to contribute to health and unemployment funds. Both the master and the factor disclaimed responsibility for the Gesellen, each insisting that he was not the producer.²⁵ Conditions were probably worse among the Gesellen of northern Bohemia than anywhere else in Austria. The humanitarian social legislation that benefited the workers in large factories did not apply to them. The evils of long hours, low wages, and child labor continued unabated. Infant mortality was appalling. Rejections for military service on grounds of health were higher than in any other part of Austria. The otherwise *laissez faire* *Reichenberger Zeitung* severely criticized the degradation of this branch of labor in the years before the First World War.²⁶ Naturally, therefore, both the Gesellen and the captive masters were attracted by Social Democratic proposals for social reforms and many joined Socialist unions.

The same economic pressures that caused the movement of Czechs from the farms to the coal mines and factories forced them to enter other occupations: many became clerks in stores, helpers in taverns, bakers, workers in the building trades or forestry. Often they were favored over German-Austrians as peasant tenants. Large numbers tried to obtain posts in the inflated Austrian civil service, a heritage from absolutism that the Liberal state preserved and extended. The total number of functionaries employed by the central, provincial and local governments of the western half of the Dual Monarchy can only be estimated, but it was probably over 250,000, of whom about 50,000 were in Bohemia and Moravia.²⁷ Most of them were in the lower ranks, members of a "Dienstklasse" indistinguishable from unskilled labor in private industry; included, for example, were the "Häuslfrauen" in public parks. They often belonged to Social Democratic or other trade unions and believed in the class struggle.²⁸

The principle of equality established in the Fundamental Laws of 1867 should have opened the civil service to Germans and Czechs alike, but in practice those whose native language was German had an advantage. Since Czechs for various reasons were particularly eager for government jobs and felt that their national prestige was involved, resentment over the alleged

25) *PdSDOe* (1898), p. 134.

26) The miserable condition of the Bohemian *Gesellen* was described at various Social Democratic party congresses and frequently in the pages of the organ of the Bohemian (German) Social Democrats, *Der Freigeist* of Reichenberg, between 1894 and 1914. Cf. *Reichenberger Zeitung*, Aug. 2, 1894, p. 1, Aug. 9, p. 3, Aug. 14, p. 3. *Lage der Heimarbeiter*, K. K. *Arbeitsamtliche Statistische Enquete 1899* (Wien, 1899), *passim*, espec. p. 230 f.

27) *SHKB* (1913), pp. 43—53.

28) Cf. Julius Deutsch, *Geschichte der österreichischen Gewerkschaftsbewegung*, 2. vols. (Vienna, 1929), I, *passim*, Margarete Hubinek, *Die Sozialdemokratische Organisation der Österreichischen Eisenbahnbediensteten* (unpub. diss., Wien, 1949), *passim*.

bias against them was strong in many strata of the Czech population. In the Bohemian provincial bureaucracy Czechs were predominant, and frequently they were appointed to posts in the imperial administration by a Czech Landsmann-Minister like Josef Kaizl or a Slavophil Statthalter like Count Franz Thun, but in general Germans were favored, perhaps of necessity, in the Austrian imperial civil service.²⁹ With the emergence of the masses into political life, as a result of public education, the popular press, the trade union movement, and increasing political democracy, this question of national quotas became a burning issue. In 1910 a National Socialist charged that while the Germans were 36% of the population of Austria, they had only 30% of the imperial civil service positions and 10% of the Bohemian provincial posts.³⁰ The figure may be exaggerated but it illustrates the sense of wrong that many German workers could not help feeling when the Czechs applied their version of equality to employment.

In conclusion, the increasingly bitter antagonism between Czech and German workers in Bohemia was not due to the mere presence of the two peoples in the same province but to the shifts of population that accompanied industrialization. Before this movement began, the bulk of the Czechs and Germans had lived in separate, almost homogeneous parts of the province. Much of Austrian industry was located deep in what German-speaking Austrians called German-Bohemia. Lower Austria, especially Vienna, was also heavily industrialized. As the tempo of industrialization was speeded up, thousands of agricultural workers, both Czech and German, lured by the demand for labor and forced off the land by the rationalization and mechanization of agriculture, migrated to the industrial areas to seek work in the mines and factories. A long agricultural depression which set in in 1870 gave additional impetus to this trend. After 1880 many new enclaves of Czech-speaking workers were formed in the midst of the German-speaking inhabitants of German Bohemia. The new industrial labor force thus provided, made up as it was largely of unskilled farm hands, was necessarily at the bottom of the economic scale. The Czechs, moreover, were used to lower standards of living than the Germans and were therefore willing to accept lower wages. This gave them a competitive advantage in the labor market which led German workers to consider them as great a threat to wage standards as the employers' greed for profits. The enmity aroused on both sides created a popular psychology receptive to nationalist propaganda. Migration established entirely new relations between at least some Czechs and Germans. The massive Czech immigration into the industrial regions of Bohemia threatened German workers in a long list of occupations with the loss of their jobs, status, and homes.

29) Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Czechs and Germans* (London, 1939), p. 63. There were about 35,000 provincial Bohemian officials before 1914. *SHKB* (1913), pp. 46-47.

30) *Deutsche Volkswehr* (Gablonz), 1910, quoted in Alexander Schilling, *Dr. Walter Riehl* (Leipzig, 1933), pp. 59-60.

In the northwest Bohemian coal fields the Czech immigration was very large and the lower Czech standard of living was able to exert heavy pressure on the wage-level and jobs of the German miners. This pressure was aggravated by the increasingly uncertain economic position of the lowgrade Bohemian coal and lignite industry after 1900 due to competition from higher grade mines in France, England and Germany. Czech immigration was not on a massive scale into the handicraft industries, many of which were concentrated chiefly in northeastern Bohemia, but it was in those industries that the position of the worker was worst, threatened as it was by machine production, declining profits, seasonal variations, rapacious factors, and inadequate social insurance and safeguards of the workers' health.

The places and industries where the German-nationalist labor movement developed show that the movement is chiefly traceable to several parallel related events: recent Czech immigration into industrial work in a predominantly German-speaking district where labor had traditionally enjoyed the higher German standard of living; crisis in the industry into which the Czech workers flowed as rivals with the Germans for jobs — the critical condition of the industry had a close relationship to the sensitiveness of the Germans to Czechs entering the labor force; a type of industrial work emphasizing skill and likely therefore to create a high degree of social cohesion and group consciousness; unusually strong identification with their homes on the part of German-Bohemian workers, strengthened often by possession of actual patches of ground that they farmed, with consequent reluctance to "flow freely" as "factors of production" to opportunities in other places.

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Forschungsberichte

Zur polnischen Parteigeschichtsschreibung von 1945-1960 über die Zeit bis 1914

I. Einleitung

Der Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkrieges, der den „Zusammenbruch des europäischen Staatensystems“ einleitete, hat nicht zuletzt eben dadurch auch eine erste Phase der polnischen Parteienentwicklung abgeschlossen und eine unverkennbar neuartige Konstellation ermöglicht.¹ Diese tiefe Zäsur, nach der die

1) Dazu jetzt H. Jabłoński, *Polityka Polskiej Partii Socjalistycznej w czasie wojny 1914—1918 r.* [Die Politik der PPS in der Zeit des Krieges von 1914—18.] Warschau 1948; vgl. auch W. Conze, *Polnische Nation und deutsche Politik im 1. Weltkrieg*, Köln 1958, sowie die zu Beginn sehr unzuverlässige Würzburger phil. Diss. von F. H. Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Reichstag und die polnische Frage 1914—1918*, 1957 (Ms.), und W. Recke, *Die polnische Frage als Problem der europäischen Politik*. Berlin 1927.